THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 6 May, 1924 Number 5

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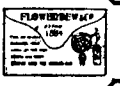

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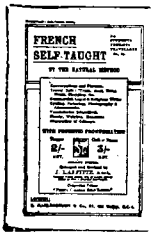

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in stating that THE LABOUR MONTHLY *needs money.*

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NOTES of the MONTH

A Ruling Policy—No Clear Opposition—MacDonald's Claim—What are Labour Principles?—MacDonaldism and Liberalism—Liberalism and the Bourgeoisie—Liberalism as Counter-Revolution—MacDonald's Record—Why the Bourgeoisie Backs MacDonald—What MacDonaldism Means—Unconsciousness of the Movement—Marxism Needed

THE speech of the Prime Minister at York afforded a very clear expression of the policy which rules the Labour Party and the Labour Government to-day. There is no doubt that MacDonaldism and all that it stands for is not only temporarily in the ascendant, but has achieved for a space a measure of insecure control over the whole movement, sufficient to be able to deflect it into channels which few of its most prominent leaders would have imagined possible twelve months ago. If anyone had foretold twelve months ago that within a year MacDonald would as Prime Minister lead the working-class movement into the establishment of a Coalition Government with a Liberal Imperialist and a Conservative ex-Viceroy; voluntary suppression of strikes with the threat of the Emergency Powers Act in the background; use of the Secret Service against Labour; carrying of armaments extension programmes by means of the Labour vote, and coercion in India, he would not have been believed. Yet all this and more has happened with very little effective protest from the working-class movement.

THIS temporary apparent power of MacDonald is only a reflection of the present balance of classes, to be swept away very rapidly by a development of the class struggle in one direction or another. But while it lasts it tests the capacity of the working-class movement to resist such inroads, and consequently the power of the working class to act as an independent force in the immediate future. So far there have been many isolated sectional and factional protests and oppositions on particular issues or of particular groups of interests, but there has been no coherent unity or expression. MacDonald has always

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been able to maintain his position, partly by the support of his own immediate ring of non-labour backers in the key positions, partly by his control of the giving and withholding of place and position among a greedy and not very high-principled crowd, partly by the open protection of the bourgeoisie and their organs of the Press, but mostly by the confusion and incoherence of all opposed to him. There have not lacked revolts and crises on one measure and another: "I will not stand for this"; "I will not stand for that": but there has been no attempt to concentrate the issue on to the policy itself which is responsible for these measures, the policy of which MacDonald is the embodiment.

WHAT is MacDonaldism? Let it be noted at the outset that in his York speech MacDonald repudiated the suggestion that he was in office, not in power. "We are in office, with power." This repudiation was a direct blow in the face to his shiftier and less honest supporters all over the country, who have repeated the parrot cry of "Office, not Power" *ad nauseam* in the hope of evading responsibility for what has taken place. In last month's issue we had occasion to expose the hypocrisy of this cry, and it is satisfactory that so clear a statement has been made by the Prime Minister. For MacDonald the union with a Haldane, the use of E.P.A., and coercion in India are not the regrettable necessities of a minority, accepted for the sake of a larger aim, to reach the beautiful ideal of "Socialism" (this is the innocent picture presented to guileless followers over the country): they are the genuine and voluntary expression of his own policy.

LET it be noted that he twice declared that his Ministry was governing "in accordance with the principles of the Labour Party." In the same speech he declared that the largest party in the country was prevented from governing by reason of the fact that "it is so committed to immediate changes in matters like fiscal affairs that it could not hold office without having a combination of the other two parties made against it." Now the Conservative Party is generally credited with having dropped Protection for a season since its last conference. Never-

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theless it is stated by Mr. MacDonald to be committed to such "immediate changes" that it cannot govern. But the Labour Party in MacDonald's view is not so committed to immediate changes as the Conservative Party: that is to say, it has dropped the Capital Levy, Nationalisation, &c., more completely than the Conservative Party has dropped Protection: and a "Labour" Government, with all the features of the Labour Party programme left out, can be continued for two or three years as government "in accordance with the principles of the Labour Party." Certainly this MacDonaldism is worth examining which can so completely suppress and silence the whole objects of the Labour Party in a way that the cleverest Liberal or Conservative statesmanship could not do. What are the forces of which MacDonald is the expression?

MACDONALD began, it is recorded, as a Liberal, in fact as a Liberal agent. Now it is no offence to begin as a Liberal or even as a Liberal agent. Men may begin as anything without it being very much their fault: it is what they end as that they are responsible for. And the real charge against MacDonald is not that he began as a Liberal, but that he still regards himself as essentially a Liberal, that he regards his Socialism and Labourism as simply the outcome and growth of Liberalism made perfect. "The Labour Party," he declared a year ago in his speech at the Holborn Empire, "stands to-day as the inheritor of the Liberal tradition: we start where they leave off." This, be it noted, is the view of present-day Liberals. "The Labour Party," declared the *Manchester Guardian* at the same time, "is the child of Liberalism . . . If and when there is question of political co-operation the best elements in Liberalism will find it easier to join hands with Labour." And the *Nation* at the same time speculated on the possible disappearance of the Liberal Party, and after considering as "just possible" that the result might be a fierce class struggle, concluded: "It is far more probable that the spirit of Liberalism would return embodied in the Labour Party. But hard work is necessary if Liberalism and Labour are to combine in a constructive policy based on good international relationships, working together as a Government

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with a majority which will make England, &c." And in the same strain of identification of Labour and Liberalism MacDonald declared at the dinner of Metropolitan Labour Mayors: "The Labour Party will be the only alternative to the reactionary party, whatever name it may be known by." Thus the essence of MacDonaldism, it is clear, is to see two forces—Reaction and Progress: and whether Progress is called Labour or Liberal is a very minor matter.

WHAT is Liberalism? Liberalism is of course the philosophy of the bourgeoisie. But this is its historical basis rather than its present significance. Under the banner of Liberalism, of liberty and freedom and equal citizenship, the bourgeoisie overthrew the entrenchments of feudal order and privilege and established their own power. Once they were in power they declared further struggle and class division at an end and unnecessary: society was free and equal as between the millionaire employer and his cringing serfs in the slums and the workhouse; and the rising struggles of the working class in the first half of the nineteenth century were crushed with savage violence. The early revolutionary organisations of the British workers, revealed in Revolutionary Trade Unionism and the Chartist movement, were wiped out of existence and in their place were established new obedient working-class organisations, from which the existing movement has developed, soaked in Liberal philosophy, in law and order and constitutionalism and abject submission to the bourgeoisie. Against Liberalism Marxism stood forth as its mortal enemy: Marxism exposed Liberal capitalist society as a class society no less than feudalism and slavery, veiled in hypocritical forms to conceal the eternal fact of surplus labour, and called the working class to their mission to destroy it and bring in a true society without classes. But for half a century the anodyne of Liberalism held the British workers in its thrall: and the paste eloquence of a Gladstone or a Lloyd George on the atrocities in Bulgaria or the iniquities of dukes chained the workers to their servitude a hundred times more effectively than bayonets or guns.

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TO-DAY Liberalism is no longer the dominant philosophy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, brought up more sharply against the problem of power by its own development, the growth of antagonism and rivalry between world bourgeois groups and the rise of the working class, has developed to new stages, the stages characterised by Imperialism, by trusts and monopolies, by State concentration and bureaucracy and militarism, and culminating in Fascism and White Guardism. Liberalism has become essentially the philosophy of the petty bourgeoisie, of the middle class of small owners and professional men, crushed between the growingly fierce struggle of the classes, and looking more and more to a big benevolent impartial State to save them and give them jobs. Here is the happy hunting-ground of pacificism, reformism and collectivism—the modern forms of Liberalism. But Liberalism is still maintained by the bourgeoisie as the means to stifle and suffocate the consciousness of the working class. And here to-day is the rôle of MacDonaldism in the working-class movement, as it was the rôle of Lloyd Georgism fifteen years ago.

THE phases of MacDonald's own career and development illustrate this use by the bourgeoisie of the most typical petty bourgeois expression to stifle the revolutionary force of the working class. In the early days when the Independent Labour Party was struggling to divorce the workers from Liberalism, and was thus performing a revolutionary task, the Independent Labour Party was the universal object of reproach and attack, and its leaders were denounced in the official conferences of the Labour movement. In the next stage, when with 1906 success crowned the early patient labours, the failure to make a real break with Liberalism was revealed; and while the workers outside were struggling towards more and more direct attacks upon the whole structure of society, the Parliamentary Labour Party under MacDonald was becoming more and more tied up with Liberalism. During this period MacDonald blossomed forth in the bourgeois Press as a great " statesman " with a future, because he represented their best hope of stifling the growing Labour " unrest." Then came the war, the open bourgeois conflict and throwing aside of

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the veil: there is no more use for the "reconcilers," and if they are not ready to perform a complete somersault like Lloyd George they are relegated to the background. MacDonald's career seemed finished to the short-sighted. But war itself leads once again to the revolutionary struggle of the workers; and it was on the back of this that MacDonald rose once again to his old position and even higher favour, as the opponent of Bolshevism and apostle of class conciliation. The Press forgets all it has said: he is once again the "statesman" in the limelight. With unusual frankness the servile biographer "Iconoclast" remarks that it was the fight with Bolshevism which "ultimately proved the means by which he at once saved and conquered the Labour Party." And it was MacDonald himself who wrote in a leading capitalist journal his claim to praise that he had been "in the forefront of the Socialist antagonism to Communism and the Third International."

IS not the process clear beyond confusion? And all the clearer because in this case the individual in question is a sincere expression of the petty bourgeois outlook, and not the adventurer type of the Lloyd George-Briand species. The more sincere MacDonald is, the more use he is to the bourgeoisie, so long as he is skilful and "practical" enough to keep pace with all the shifts required by their politics and not to let his "idealism" interfere with this. MacDonald represents all that opiate of social pacifism, religion, constitutionalism, and cloudy ethical idealism by which the bourgeoisie hopes to drug and stifle the awakening consciousness of the working class. But if once the struggle goes past MacDonald, and the workers go forward to the attack in spite of him, then MacDonald will either have to apply the iron hand of the capitalist dictatorship or he will be as ruthlessly flung aside as during the war, and Fascism will succeed as the next weapon of the bourgeoisie.

THUS MacDonaldism is the greatest enemy of the working class at the present stage against which all sincere elements must openly combine. MacDonaldism begins as everything that is liberal, humane, idealist, noble: but the other end of the journey is not so beautiful. For behind all

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the fine phrases is one meaning and one meaning only: the denial of the class struggle and therefore in practice the support of the subjection of the working class. All the talk about the "organic" development of society means only this; all the talk about "constructive" purposes and "civilisation" and a "spiritual" mission and "working together" and a "divine ideal" have only one brutal meaning in fact: a meaning that is suddenly and sharply laid bare when the noble speaker has to go straight from addressing fair words to a religious gathering to order new guns and cruisers and weapons of destruction for the Imperialists, to direct the shooting of strikers in India, to maintain the secret counter-revolutionary spies against the left-wing workers, to repudiate the right of soldiers to have any conscientious objection to shooting their fellow-workers on strike, and to proclaim the dictatorial Emergency Powers Act when a section of the Labour movement which is supposed to have placed him in power dares to go on strike. And not so far away in a neighbouring country is the picture of the final outcome of constitutional social democracy, when the guns that have been voted are used—against the workers.

WHAT readiness is there for a clear stand against all this? How many of the Labour Party understand what is happening or whither it is tending? In all the spasms of revolt that have taken place, how much intelligent alternative policy to MacDonaldism has been revealed? Half the revolts have been stupid sectional quarrels, concerned as much with questions of jobs as with questions of policy. Where there have been revolts on principle, they have been on isolated principles with no clear total policy or aim. The General Council rushes into public to "deplore" the use of E.P.A. by a Labour Government. But the General Council does not stop to consider that the only alternative for a Labour Government is to take its stand openly with the class struggle, a course which the General Council itself has not yet adopted. The Clyde group make a good stand on many issues. But when it comes to the central discussion of policy at the I.L.P. Conference they have nothing to say. They do not take their stand on the class struggle; they are strong

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in their sentiment and spirit of sympathy with the working class (and angry when the other side calls it "sob-stuff"), but when it comes to policy and expression they are as much the slaves of the "nation" and the "Empire" and the rest of the cant as any. Their Ruhr report, received with delighted approval by the *Morning Post*, reveals how perilously near their national Socialism and complete obliviousness to class issues in the wider sense can bring them to unconscious jingoism in practice. This same obliviousness to class issues has been even more strikingly disclosed in their discussions of the question of armaments and the duty of a Labour member's vote. This question they have discussed at length in their press as involving only two possible alternatives—Tolstoyan non-resistance or the support of national armaments in the hope of essential international disarmament. The unconscious assumption behind this is so deeply entrenched, that when the writer of these Notes attempted to point out the familiar Socialist issue, the indignant reply of the Editor of *Forward* revealed that the issue was not even understood.

BUT an alternative leadership has got to be achieved. The triumph of MacDonaldism does not mean merely the defeat and frustration of the working-class movement; it means its disruption. The revolts that have taken place may have been confused and imperfect, but they have been symptoms of a situation running deeper than any particular issue, and all the more serious because it is expressing itself in these unconscious sectional movements. For the workers will go forward in any case, and no MacDonald can hold them back. But if MacDonald remains at the head of the movement, then it means a breach in the movement. The new militancy of "trade union M.P.'s" is not the result of a sudden awakening on their part (their past records would absolve them from this charge), but is the compulsory reflection of the awakening of the rank and file. While the workers are awakening to new attacks, the MacDonaldites are all pouring out the propaganda of Industrial Peace. And this is the issue for which the bourgeoisie is playing, and, as their indecent eagerness during the tram strike revealed, the rock on which they hope to wreck the movement. The MacDonald policy, being a bourgeois consti-

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tutional policy and therefore an anti-working-class policy, must necessarily involve conflict with now one and now another section of the workers. So long as these sectional oppositions remain unconscious of any larger aim, their occurrence is only part of the general disruption. Only a genuine working-class policy can unite all sections. Such a working-class policy cannot be based on sentiment or querulous opposition or stage leftism: it can only be based on a broad and conscious alternative to MacDonaldism for the policy of the working-class movement. There is only one alternative to MacDonaldism for the policy of the working-class movement. That alternative is Marxism, the modern realisation of which is Communism. The expression of this alternative has got to be achieved by all the virile elements in the Labour Party.

R. P. D.

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TOWARDS A NEW POLICY.—V

By A. A. PURCELL, M.P.
(Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress)

THIRTY-FOUR years continuous membership of the Union in a trade gathers within its four corners the experiences of quite a mass of "new" and "forward" policies.

This does not necessarily mean that even those which petered out at some stage or another were not worth the time and energy spent on them. Not at all—more frequently than otherwise it is a case of any good-looking peg being momentarily strong enough to hang your young or old advocacy upon.

The chief thing should be to go in and get something; if it comes off well, good—if not, well, come again—and again—and again.

Policies, programmes, platforms and what not have the knack of nosing forward, and shifting either sideways or to the rear a little or much, just according to the bleat of those behind or the blast of those in the front line of advocacy.

Similarly after demonstrations where the teeth of the movement were to have been delved into the main arteries of this commercial system they get too loose by the morning to assist the digestion of the softest of food.

But how many times (according to our position in the Industrial Line) have some of us, if not all, taken sections of our class up the side of the mountain, shown them the promised land, and then—now back—down again.

Of course, we all have, and correctly so, we have always been bigger than we thought we were.

Our trouble really is that we are so easily disappointed, and quite airily we say something else is needed, and so we prove our courage, or want of it, as you please.

Now all these programmes, platforms, policies and manifestos have their place. I have been in at the drafting and distribution

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of millions of them, but never once did I believe they would do the thing the chief enthusiasts desired. My view has always been that I regarded this literature attack as an effort to get the working class to know itself.

Even to-day you could raise the storm upon a really urgent matter, and things would look quite hopeful and suddenly damp down.

"There you are," say the kindly critics, "I told you so, the working class will not move—damn them. I'm going to stand for Parliament."

He does so, succeeds, concludes that he is the working class, and should the latter kick or their attitude appear strong and bent upon instant advance, well, good advice is necessary and he gives it —*Caution*.

Many of us then lapse into personal attacks, and so on, emulating the bar-parlour croaker proving to a nicety how virtuous he really is.

This is as I have seen it over a very happy and useful number of years.

I would leave those who are desperately anxious to adumbrate new policies to their task, let them keep to it. They are quite a necessary part of our working-class mosaic. Keep them in and at it.

My preference is for preaching, urging, quietly, noisily, in season and out, undiluted working-class solidarity.

How? By constant association with every working-class effort, local or national. Encouragement at every conceivable point of the industrial compass. Persistently agitating for the reduction of the 1,000 unions to ten, and then the ten to join as one and under the same roof.

Always a forward policy, and ready with an urge that from the cashier's desk down or up through the machine shop to the ware-house and store, and on to the actual delivery of the goods—one union.

Gradually, even if ever so slowly, these long years of advocacy are bearing fruit. We are constantly reminded of this by the "public inconvenience" croak.

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But even if we do not get the great reductions in the numbers of organisations which are so vitally necessary, it is quite easy to perceive the gradual development of a growing measure of solidarity, strange as it may appear, among the sectional unions. It is therefore coming home to them, maybe unknowingly.

The inclusion of administrative, technical, manual and mental workers inside the industrial organisation ; the organisation of the Trades Councils, city, town and county, into integral parts of the National Industrial Union, the direct connection everywhere of the finger tips to the head.

Tomes of detail will yet ensue, but they will sooner or later sink beneath the sheer weight of the onward rush of the worker towards solidarity.

Those who have got the tone and atmosphere of parliamentary activity need fear very little, provided they are bent upon the capture of Parliament and all that it involves, but they will ask, What becomes of Parliament in the event of such an organisation of industrial completeness as roughly outlined ?

The answer is Parliament will become a new place, if it exists at all, a place for co-ordinating the industrial structure in all its varying parts. More will have been achieved, the Industrial Order will be on the threshold of Control and, indeed, its final emancipation.

My contribution is an evasion of the details of a new forward policy and a restatement of the old.

I would not quarrel with any attempt made to get us to the gates quickly, in fact, I give general support during the periods intervening between a persistent, constant and everlasting urge to draw the workers in all spheres into the nearest approach as a surging mass.

Inform them well and unite them swiftly and well.

Previous contributions to this symposium by Messrs. W. H. Hutchinson, (of the A.E.U., and the Labour Party Executive), George Hicks (of the Building Trade Workers, and the General Council), Will Lawther (of the Miners, and the Labour Party Executive), and Robert Williams (of the Transport Workers, and the Labour Party Executive), appeared in the first four numbers of the present volume of The Labour Monthly.

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LENIN AND THE WORKERS

By G. ZINOVIEV

IN her article dedicated to the memory of Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg wrote : " . . . If we wish to formulate in a few words what Marx accomplished for the contemporary working-class movement, we would say that Marx discovered the working class as a historical category, that is, a class with definite conditions of historical existence and definite laws of historical development."

To Lenin a greater destiny has been allotted : he has led the working class, which was theoretically " discovered " by Marx, into the fight. Under his leadership, the working class in one country at least, from being the " lowest " class became the ruling class. His genius has created an international organisation of the working class which has set itself the same goal on an international scale.

Although it was not given to Lenin to " discover " the working class, it was given to the working class to " discover " Lenin himself. During the very earliest manifestations of the approaching proletarian world revolution, the international working class perceived in Lenin its chosen leader.

Lenin always felt himself merely as the first of the workers whom history had pushed to the position of leadership. Throughout his whole activity it always seemed as if he said : " I am only one of the leading working men. It fell to my lot to possess a good education and capacity, my business is to gather all the remaining workers together and lead them to battle."

This fundamental attitude of Lenin has communicated itself through a thousand invisible threads—through " wireless telegraphy "—from heart to heart within the widest circles of the non-party workers. The intimate, affectionate attitude of the widest circles of the non-party working masses towards Vladimir Ilyitch was shown with striking clearness in the year 1918, when wounded by the bullet of the Socialist Revolutionary, Comrade Lenin struggled against death. Who does not remember the great

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flood of resolutions and declarations which poured in at the time from the masses, written by the workers themselves, which bore a quite unique impress of the fullest love, tenderness and adoration in the deepest sense of the words.

The masses of the working class are by no means effusive in the way they accord praise and appreciation. The ordinary worker is generally moderate and reserved in the expression of his feelings, even towards a highly esteemed leader. But in the year 1918, this ordinary worker found words concerning V. I. Lenin which have rendered many resolutions of non-party workers real models of artistic prose.

And we are experiencing the same in greater measure now that Vladimir Ilyitch has closed his eyes for ever. One needs only read the following letter from a working woman over the death of Comrade Lenin.

The unemployed Nikitorova writes :—

> " . . . Our dear father ! You have left your children for ever. We know that the hour will soon come when from the lands of all the earth wreaths will pour in to cover your warm grave. And it will not be moistened by the morning dew of summer, but by the tears of your children who have loved you so deeply and who will eternally be devoted to your memory . . . "

Who can doubt that these words express the feeling of the best in the ranks of the working class ?

A single tear from such a working woman is the best praise for a leader of the proletariat.

He who has seen the tens and hundreds of thousands of workers waiting in devout silence to enter the state chamber, to pay their last respects to the departed, will never forget this drama, whose magnitude was unsurpassed in the history of the world.

He who knows the attitude of the Russian worker towards Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin has never doubted that from the mass of non-party workers one united reply would come to the death of the Master. We did not know what character it would take. Now it is quite clear. The non-party workers are streaming in masses to the ranks of the party created by V. I. Lenin.

In Leningrad and Voronesh, in Kiev and Charkow, in Moscow and Ivanovo-Vossnessensk, in the Donetz valley—everywhere the same is happening ; baring their heads before the newly made

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grave of V. I. Lenin, the non-party workers are expressing, without superfluous words, that firm desire to enter the ranks of our Party.

Whole organisations are deciding unitedly to join the Party or "to elect their best and to send them as members into the Party."

That is a manifestation completely without parallel and whose significance can scarcely be overestimated. The Party must study it carefully, learn to understand it thoroughly and to draw all possible practical conclusions from it.

"We will place our power at the disposal of the glorious organisation of the Russian Communist Party whose stability has been shaken by the loss of its Master and Leader." So write the non-party workers of the ammunition works in Moscow.

At the joint special meeting of the workers of the "Moskust" cast-iron works and the "Moto Maschina" concern on the morning of January 23 there were about 400 workers present, 99 of them expressed the desire forthwith to join the Party. Dozens of similar declarations from non-party workers are reaching the Party nuclei of "The Red Leather Worker" Works. "He who is stronger shall join the ranks of the Russian Communist Party. We will do our utmost to send the best into the ranks of the Russian Communist Party."

Such utterances are coming from the circles of non-party workers in the great industrial concerns of Leningrad and other towns.

"The 50 non-party workers here assembled have chosen their five best and are sending them to join the ranks of the Russian Communist Party."

Such resolutions have been received by the dozens.

This movement is just beginning. We must understand how to give heed to it and to support it. Our recent Union Party Congress decided to introduce no fewer than 100,000 new party members into our ranks in the course of the next year, consisting exclusively of workers from the workshops. This decision was made before the death of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. If this decision were correct and profoundly justified before January 21—the day upon which Vladimir Ilyitch closed his eyes for ever—it is now by far more correct and justified.

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We do not speak here of the hundreds and thousands of resolutions from non-party workers, which only speak generally of the necessity for strengthening our Russian Communist Party. We are not speaking about those workers who, perhaps under the influence of their feelings, give expression to their trust in our Party : we do not doubt that if one had urged the hundreds of thousands of workers who streamed to the lying-in-state in the hall of the Trades Union Building to join the Party a good half of them would have enthusiastically accepted.

We speak here essentially of those amongst the non-party workers who firmly, and in the strength of their conviction resulting from mature thoughtful consideration, adopted their present attitude towards our Party.

In the events which we are now experiencing, each one of us can see with particular clearness how strong our Party is and how, despite all our weaknesses, it is intimately connected to and grown to the mass of the non-party workers. With anxiety we put the question at our congresses and conferences : How many members have we who are engaged in industry ? Is this group not too small ? Are we not in danger of separating ourselves from the masses ? This anxiety is justified. We would be no disciples of Comrade Lenin if we did not ask ourselves such questions, and if we did not do our utmost at the right time to adopt the necessary measures. The echo, however, which the departure of Vladimir Ilyitch has found amongst hundreds of thousands and millions of the non-party workers in our Union of Republics shows that, in the end, the question of how great the groups of those members of our Party are who are immediately engaged in industrial work is a subordinate one. We always were and will remain the party of the working class, flesh of its flesh. The masses of the workers recognise and will recognise no other party than that which was created and brought to maturity by Vladimir Ilyitch.

Our party can do well to pay the closest heed to the conspicuous movement which has set in during the last few days amongst the wide circles of the non-party workers. We must meet this movement with all our power. If we, in the near future, succeed in bringing an entirely new stratum of workers from the industrial concerns into our Party, it will be the best wreath we can lay upon

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the newly-made grave of Vladimir Ilyitch. The new stratum of workers which, in view of the remarkable enthusiasm amongst the non-party proletariat during the last few days, will, after the necessary test, enter our Party will not be, of that we are convinced, the worst one.

These new strata of what were yesterday non-party workers will gain through the help of our Party the necessary tempering and Marxist education, and will become a worthy part of the advance-guard in the cause of Lenin. Yesterday we heard accidentally a conversation of two workers :—

> The First : "What will we now do without him (Vladimir Ilyitch) ?"
>
> The Second : "Oh, that won't be so very difficult now. But what would we have done had he died three or four years ago ?"

In this way simple workers translate into their own language the words of the poet : "Say not with sorrow, they are no longer there, but with thankfulness, they were there."

The misfortune which has befallen our Party will be felt by the whole working masses of our country as their own misfortune. The best friend of the people is dead. But also through his death he has united anew the ranks of the class of which he was the Standard Bearer.

Nearer and still nearer to the working masses—that is our answer to the enthusiasm which has set in amongst the non-party workers. And only such a policy of our Party is worthy of the name of Vladimir Ilyitch.

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THE LABOUR PARTY AND POWER

III.—The Outlook Abroad

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

SINCE the Labour government has been in power there have been only two controversial matters of first-class importance concerning foreign policy before Parliament. Both these had a naval aspect. They were the construction of the five cruisers and the dropping of the Singapore dock. On the one there was disagreement within the ranks of the Labour Party, and on the other full agreement but a bitter contest with the Conservatives. The disagreement within the party on the matter of the five cruisers turned out to be a storm in a tea-cup, because those who objected to them did so on purely pacifist grounds, which no Socialist recognising the economic problems facing Labour in its struggle with capitalism could possibly accept. The real objection to the construction of the five cruisers was not mentioned in the House by any Labour speaker. But if the construction of the cruisers are not looked upon just as electioneering stunts for providing work in dockyard constituencies, if they are taken in connection with the concentration of the British fleet in the Mediterranean and with the fact that the naval manœuvres this summer take place off the Balearic Islands, right on the lines of sea communication between France and her African cannon-fodder and cheap labour plantations, if it is remembered that the French debt to British financial houses through the Treasury amounts to 550 million sterling, and that a further advance was recently made to assist the stabilisation of the franc, then the increase of British naval strength in fast cruisers with heavy armament and guns is not without meaning. It is a reminder to the debtor that the creditor is there with the bailiff at hand, and that probably there will be one day also an American bailiff calling to ask about those 2½ milliard dollars. As things are at present, the Labour government is merely doing what the City and incidentally the armament firms want in building these cruisers. On the other hand, a refusal to construct them

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would have met with the support of the Liberals and other manufacturing and trading interests, who are not concerned with France's debt to the City.

But the scrapping of Singapore was supposed to be great moral gesture ! It certainly has cleared the air in the Pacific. But Sir Percy Scott let the cat out of the bag when he wrote in a letter to *The Times* that it was criminal to waste money on Singapore when what was needed was a concentration of naval and aerial force at home. The inference is obvious. Moveover Japan has had an earthquake and I doubt if the Tory orators who attacked MacDonald really cared, except that by their action they kept the Jingo feeling going at home, which is always an important psychological asset for any group of monopolist interests.

Other matters of foreign policy have not yet come to the fore, but important developments have nevertheless taken place since the Labour government came into power. In Egypt the Zaglul government has taken office, and, while British troops and British officials still remain in Cairo, there is no doubt that the native Egyptian bourgeoisie with its Greek, Levantine, Syrian and Jewish hangers-on are increasing their political and in certain spheres their economic independence. Certainly in matters concerning the granting of concessions to excavate in the Valley of the Kings the Egyptian bourgeoisie is going to have its own way, as the executors of the late Lord Carnarvon have been made to feel. But British Imperialism, which in this case means the great steamship companies serving the East and the banks and trading concerns affiliated with them, keep their hold on the Suez Canal. In the Sudan the hold of South African Jew financiers on the natural resources of the land is tightening. The Labour government has not dared to break the usurious pact which its predecessor made, although one would have thought that they would at least have imposed some new conditions limiting profits. Not that it matters very much to the " fellaheen " or to the town workers in the Valley of the Nile if they are exploited by native or by international usurers, and under existing conditions in England one cannot expect the Labour government to remove them both at once. But one can at least expect from it a clear indication of what it would do if its hands were untied.

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Further to the East in India, that special preserve of British finance and construction capital, the rise of a native capitalist class is in full swing. Though it is very difficult to get statistics there is every reason to believe that the accumulation of native investments is going on at a greater rate than the export of fresh capital from England. Side by side with this is the rapid break-down of the caste system in the country, which has been testified to by Indian labour writers in the *Daily Herald*, so that the stock argument of the Anglo-Indian that the natives cannot get on without his assistance because of these social divisions is falling to the ground. New social divisions are forming and he is being pushed into the background. But like all obsolete ruling classes the Anglo-Indian, nurtured in the atmosphere of autocracy, is not going to let power slip from him without a fight. The Labour government has done absolutely nothing to curb his power yet, and MacDonald has gone out of his way to encourage him by that message to the Indian Nationalists. The outlook in India is not without some similarity to that of Russia before the revolution ; with obscure agrarian movements, a privileged native nobility, a bureaucracy of foreign origin, and a rising bourgeoisie in the towns. British labour has no interest in setting the native capitalists in power in India and its ultimate aim should always be to hasten the passage from the present autocratic regime to that of a federation of states where native labour rules. The transition period is bound to be long and painful, because there is not, as there was in Russia, the unifying influence of geography, climate and language over the great plain. But the Labour government is looking on, while the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy unites the Indian coolie and the Indian capitalist against his vested interest. An explosion seems inevitable.

Let us look at another part of the world. American Imperialism is now in a position of arbiter over the fate of the capitalist world. With more than half the bullion of the world in the coffers of the Federal Reserve Board, obtained as guarantees for loans to bankrupt countries in Europe, with nearly 400 million dollars of foreign capital invested in America this year in its flight from Europe, Wall Street can face a trade boom at home without fear of inflation by simply expanding credits based on the huge gold reserves. Its economic conquest of Canada is continuing. It has come to terms

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with the revolutionary government of Mexico with a view to opening up new markets, while the City has prevented the Labour government from taking a similar course, on account of the objections of British holders of Mexican bonds. Once more the conflict of interest between the bankers and the industrialists come to the surface. But Wall Street keeps its hold on the City and on the Labour government by the Anglo-American Debt Agreement. This is the British reparation, which has to be paid for having induced America to join the war. It is perhaps as well to regard this debt—as Lenin regarded the Brest-Litovsk Treaty—as an obligation to be respected on account of the existence of *force majeure*. In this case the *force majeure* is not bayonets and cruisers, although these might also under certain conditions appear, but the blockade of the British Treasury by Wall Street and its friends in the City. There would be prospects of engineered panics through selling of sterling securities in large blocks, causing immense financial embarrassments to the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer. One cannot, therefore, blame the Labour government for leaving well alone as far as the American debt is concerned for the present. To open hostilities on yet another front, when there are so many already, would be the height of tactical folly.

The powers that are now ruling England at the present time have secured their rear by pacifying America because they have problems to solve in another quarter. Hence the Labour government, if it is going to challenge this power ruling England, must direct its attention there also. Walton Newbold has shown in his brilliant analysis of the European situation in last month's LABOUR MONTHLY that transport and banking capital is challenging with apparent success the Franco-German coal and steel combine which has come into existence since the Micum Agreement last autumn. It now appears that Stresemann has let the cat out of the bag in a speech at Kiel in which he has said that the British banks threaten to refuse credits to the German trusts if the Micum Agreement is renewed. The experts, who are to present their report to the Reparations Commission, are really the nominees of the Wall Street and the City banks. The latter's plan is to get the Franch out of the Ruhr, in order to mortgage the whole of the transport and heavy industry of a united Germany to an

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international loan, floated by themselves. The coming elections in Germany will decide not an issue between capitalism and Socialism (German labour is too crushed and demoralised to make even a pretence of a fight), but whether the agents of banking and transport capital in Germany shall secure a settlement with France on the basis of a Ruhr evacuation, or whether the French and German coal and steel trusts shall rule over West Germany and the rest of the country, east of the Elbe, be thrown to the wolves, that is to London and New York. But the victory of banking and transport capital will mean a 12-hour day in Germany and an unemployed army of at least 10 millions with wages probably below the present starvation level. Then we shall hear even more than we hear at present about colonial governments putting their railway orders in Germany because the quotations are cheaper. Then an additional argument will be provided for beating down the wages of the "sheltered" industries to the level of the "unsheltered." Our Labour government will be digging its own grave if it permits the British and American banks to float a loan to Germany on the conditions which they intend to exact.

But what can the government do to break the iron ring which surrounds it in nearly every part of the world? To be quite frank, it cannot break it now and no one can expect it to. But it can at least speak the truth, show us the enemy, and mobilise public opinion for new elections. It must cease to pretend that the international loan to Germany is anything else than a Shylock's pound of flesh. It must put forward its own reparation policy—not that of the coal and steel trusts (Micum Agreements) and not that of the banks and transport interests—but a working-class reparation policy. In addition to the recommendations of the *New Leader*, that the British government waives its share of reparation and cancels the French debt, should be added a condition that French and German labour representatives be present at an international conference, and that a minimum standard of living be guaranteed to the German worker in the interest of all Europe.

And should any gesture in this direction on the part of the Labour government fail, as it probably would, it has still a powerful weapon in its hands. The Russian delegates are now arriving to the conference on debts and economic relations between Russia

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and England. Already the howl of execration going up from *The Times* is indicative of the fact that a certain gang of wirepullers in the City is getting nervous. Judicious manœuvring, which MacDonald is quite capable of, if he intends, could isolate this little clique of so-called " creditors of Russia " and the holders of the old Tsarist bonds. The trading and manufacturing interests and indeed most of the F.B.I., including the heavy concerns, are bound to be tempted by the prospects of opening up the Russian markets and keeping their plants running at home. The interests of the bondholders must not be allowed to hinder for one moment the opening up of credits to finance exports to Russia. If the former creditors of Russia are wise, they will take any offer they can get in liquidation of their claims, such as rouble participation in " mixed " companies for the development of Russia, and they may think themselves lucky if they get this, probably their last chance. A settlement with Russia of this kind will tend gradually to free the workers of this country from the control of food and raw materials by price manipulators in America and elsewhere. Already the advent of Russian timber has brought down the price of that article. And as for the prospects of exports of manufactured goods from this country, there is ample room in Russia to make up for the loss of the continental markets, which would come if either the Micum Agreement or the international loan to Germany without conditions protecting German labour were brought into effect. Here is a chance for our Labour government fearlessly to strike out a new line, not Socialistic in its immediate implications, but one which would make a beginning of breaking down the iron ring of the banking oligarchy which surrounds it in every other part of the world. I believe the government will be judged in history by the way in which it handles the coming Russian conference.

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A LABOUR PREMIER MEETS HIS MASTERS

By V. G. CHILDE

THE refusal of a loan to the Labour Government of Queensland by the City moneylenders created a sensation in 1920. But then the financiers won only a Pyrrhic victory. The Labour Premier declined to modify at their behest legislation passed by the elected Parliament of Queensland. He went back to the people of the State and, with " No dictation by foreign capitalists " as a battle-cry, managed once more to secure a victory for Labour at the polls. He even managed to secure a modest but costly loan in the U.S.A. At a time of universal depression, when the capitalist class has been making a mass attack on the standards of the workers, real wages in Queensland have remained higher than in any other State in Australia. The masters themselves have paid a striking tribute to the Labour Ministry by offering a bribe of £5,000 to a Labour member to desert his colleagues at a critical division.

Nevertheless these intervening years have been a period of disillusionment both to the proletariat of Queensland and to Mr. Theodore. The lack of loan moneys at once ruled out any " extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State " on lines which should on Australian theory pave the way to " Socialism." The financial embarrassments of the Government involved a partial cessation of public works which had been utilised to absorb the unemployed. The ranks of the latter were swelled by the inevitable retrenchment in the public service. In the absence of loans to cover the deficits, railwaymen and other State employees were sacked wholesale. No wonder the reiterated demands of the Party Conference, repeated with emphasis just the other day by the Brisbane Industrial Council, for double pay for night work on the railways evoked a blank *non possumus*. And in the face of the general capitalist assault on hours and wages backed with the threat

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of a universal lockout, another plank of the Labour platform—the statutory 44 hour week—has had to be jettisoned.

The biting criticism of industrialists has only served to underline the Premier's lesson. And so he stands in Lombard Street in the garb of penitence. As the price of a short-term loan the Labour stalwart has reversed the position he adopted four years ago and acknowledged the superiority of economic to political power. In an apologetic letter to the interested companies he has promised that the weapon forged by Parliament in pursuance of a long established plank of the Labour platform shall rust in its scabbard.

This signal capitulation crowning four years of starved impotence is doubly instructive. The " silken cords " which bind the self-governing Dominions to the motherland are now revealed in their true nature. The imposition of conditions in return for a loan is only the obverse of that much trumpeted demonstration of complete Dominion autonomy in politics—the unhesitating Royal Assent to the obnoxious Bill for the abolition of the Queensland Legislative Council. The effective control over Dominion policy resides not in Westminster but in the City. And it is left to a Labour Colonial Secretary to give his blessing publicly to its exercise.

Secondly, the paralysis of legislation and the abrogation of parliamentary sovereignty exposes the fatuity of theories which promise the transformation of capitalism by evolutionary means ; for it was precisely in Queensland that evidence for the feasibility of such politics might have been sought. The Labour Ministries which have ruled there since 1915 have some claim to be regarded as genuine workers' Governments. They made on their accession honest, if modest, attempts to give effect to the Labour policy for Socialism by the establishment of a number of State enterprises. Some of these, notably the State Butchers' Shops and the State Insurance Office, attained considerable dimensions, very substantially reduced prices and rates to the consumers, and earned an appreciable revenue for the State. The Insurance Acts giving the State Office a monopoly of workmen's compensation business and establishing a strict supervision over private insurers in other risks is particularly obnoxious to high finance and especially valuable to the workers. Similarly much admirable industrial

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legislation was passed in the interests of the toilers. The Industrial Arbitration Act went as far as it is possible to go within the limits of the compulsory system to give the Unions at once legal status and freedom of action. In administration again the Labour Ministers' policy contrasted favourably with that habitually pursued by "Labour" Governments in Australia—and elsewhere. Where the naked issue of the class war was raised, the Cabinet was distinctly, if perhaps reluctantly, on the side of the proletariat. While the Tory Government of New South Wales was crushing unionism on the railways there in 1917, the Queensland Minister concerned informed his colleague in the south that goods carried on non-union trains could not be accepted at the frontier for transmission over the Queensland lines. In the same year Premier Ryan ended the shipping lockout by a threat to commandeer all ships in Queensland and man them on union terms. During the sanitary carters' strike at Townsville the Premier "cleansed" the town under the Public Health Act by paying the men the wages demanded and charging the cost to the Tory local authority.

The first reaction of capitalism against this regime was the adoption of fascist violence in 1919. To this end returned soldiers organised by Tory officers and encouraged by the Federal Government under the renegade W. M. Hughes were employed. The workers were unprepared and the State police insufficient to repel their attacks. Diplomacy was necessary, and Labour Ministers had to pose as upholders of law and order even at the cost of arresting militants for exhibiting the Red Flag contrary to Federal Law. So when the police at Townsville used firearms to repel an assault by armed strikers upon a non-union meat works, the Home Secretary condoned their conduct and despatched reinforcements to the town. The Minister for Railways suspended some unionists who refused to work the train conveying their extra constables, and only fully reinstated the victims under the cloak of the "Peace" celebrations when the crisis was passed. But the conspiracy to wreck the Labour Government by brute force was circumvented. The veterans' organisations were corrupted and their energy diverted to other channels.

It was after this partial defeat that the capitalists turned to their proper weapons. The post-war depression and the unemployment

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it entailed were utilised to undermine the position of the more militant unions. At the same time the financial boycott has robbed the Labour Government of its power to provide effective shelter to the victims of the attack. Mr. Theodore's capitulation is only the formal acknowledgment of defeat. The capitalist class have proved the efficacy against mere constitutionalism of that direct action which Mr. Theodore himself had once long ago preached to the workers when organising the unskilled navvies and lumberers of the north. The " responsibilities of Office " turned him against that doctrine, but its application has reduced his Cabinet and himself to the position of a subservient managing committee for the bourgeoisie.

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THE IMPERIAL STRUGGLE FOR CANADA

By SCOTT NEARING

MORE than three and a-half million square miles of wheat lands, timber lands, coal, iron, copper, oil and water power make up the Dominion of Canada. Though its borders cross the Arctic Circle few areas are potentially richer in those natural advantages which provide the basis for a modern industrial civilisation.

Canada means wealth and power to its future possessor. Where will the title to Canada rest a decade hence—in London or in Washington ?

To Great Britain Canada means a market for manufactured goods, a source of raw material, but above all an investment field. When the war broke out the Canadian investment market was the favourite child of British financial imperialism. During 1913 about 45 million pounds sterling were sent by British investors into Canada. At that time the British investing public had more wealth in the Canadian field than in any other area outside Britain with the single exception of the United States.

Potentially, Canada means more to the United States than to Great Britain. Within a very few years the United States will cease to provide a sufficient supply of wheat and of meat to feed its own population. The Canadian grain fields will then become indispensable to the American people. Already the timber supply of the United States is seriously depleted and the great forest resources of Canada are being drawn upon for paper stock and lumber. The coal of Nova Scotia, the iron of Newfoundland, and the copper of the lake regions will sooner or later be requisitioned for American manufacturing industry. In the meantime, the great volumes of American surplus are finding Canada the most promising neighbouring field.

Canada was neglected by outside investors until the end of the nineteenth century. The rapid building of railroad lines with the

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opening up of new agricultural and industrial territory offered choice opportunities to the American and British investor. At that time, however, American investors, busy with their own internal developments, had no surplus funds to place outside of the United States. Consequently the field was left open to the British.

The opening of Canada as an investment field corresponds with the development of an important investable surplus in the United States. The free lands of the United States were exhausted in the '90's. Thereafter American farmers looking for homesteads found that it paid them to cross the border-line into Canada. The United States Steel Corporation was organised in 1901. From that time forward American industrialism was producing on a reasonably efficient scale, by quantity methods, vast amounts of economic goods, a part of which found a market in the United States. The surplus went of necessity into some foreign field.

By 1910 the volume of investable surplus in the United States had increased to such a point that Cuba, Mexico, Central America and Canada were all called upon to absorb their share of surplus American funds. At that time, however (1910), the amount of United States investments in Canada did not exceed 225 million dollars.

Meanwhile the British investors had been making the best of an excellent opportunity. The amount of new British capital publicly sent into Canada during the years immediately preceding the war was :—

1908	£27	million
1909	£26	„
1910	£36	„
1911	£41	„
1912	£47	„
1913	£44	„
1914 (first six months)	£37	„

—*Monetary Times Annual*, 1914.

By 1914 the total of British investments in Canada had exceeded 500 million pounds. In the same year the total of United States investments was not more than 130 million pounds.

These two figures represent the relative investment positions of the two empires at the outbreak of the World War. The United

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States investors had not yet waked up to the value of Canadian opportunities, while British investors had taken advantage of them to the full.

With regard to trade in 1913, Canada imported from Great Britain, for consumption, 20 per cent. and from the United States 58 per cent. of her total imports. The exports to Great Britain and the United States for that year were actually the same, namely, 39 per cent. to each country.[1] Thus in both exports and imports exactly 78 per cent. of Canadian business was carried on with these two countries. But while Canada sold an equal quantity of goods to each, her imports from the United States were three times her imports from Great Britain. Canada, in other words, was borrowing money in Great Britain and spending it in the United States.

Already, therefore, at the outbreak of the war, Canada, while depending upon British investors for her prosperity, was looking to the United States for her goods. Britain still held the purse-strings, but Canada's buying market lay across her southern border.

The war of 1914 completely altered the position of the two empires in relation to the economic life of Canada. The British manufacturing industry was compelled to devote its attention to the supplying of war materials. Consequently by 1917 Canada was importing only 12 per cent. of her total from Great Britain as against 70 per cent. from the United States. On the other hand, the great demand for war materials created a situation in which Canada was exporting 68 per cent. of her total to Great Britain as against 25 per cent. to the United States. Furthermore, the total of Canadian exports jumped from 455 million dollars in 1913 to 1,179 million dollars in 1917.

This war episode not only destroyed a part of the British market in Canada by stimulating the development of local Canadian industry, but it hurt British industry at home by stimulating the export of Canadian manufactured goods to the Mother-country.

[1] These figures apparently do not take account of wheat and other transit trade, and therefore should not be taken at face value.—Ed., Labour Monthly.

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At the same time, new British investments in Canada virtually ceased, since the entire surplus of British production was utilised for war purposes.

The war situation gave United States investors their opportunity. Between 1914 and 1917, when the United States entered the war, American manufacturers and traders were making unheard-of profits. This investable surplus found a quite logical outlet into Canada. At the same time, the rapid growth of Canadian manufacturing business demanded a great increase in the total volume of capital. Since this could not be secured from Britain, it must come from the United States. Consequently, while the war virtually stopped the increase of British economic interests in Canada, it provided an immense stimulus for those of the United States.

The net inflow of United States capital into Canada in 1919 was about 220 million dollars; in 1920 about 325 millions (*Wealth and Income of the American People*, by W. R. Ingalls, page 61). In the latter year the total of British investments probably did not exceed two billions, while the total of American investments had jumped to 1 billion 800 millions, as compared with about 600 millions in 1914. Even more significant than this total, however, was the complete modification that occurred in the ownership of some of the Canadian key industries. Thus in 1920, out of a total investment of 650 millions in the iron and steel industry, Canadian investors held 47 per cent., British 4 per cent. and United States investors 38 per cent. Similarly, in the mining industry of Canada, Canadian investors held 54 per cent., British 13 per cent. and United States investors 31 per cent.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics recently published a report on the nationality of capital in Canadian industries for 1919. According to this report, of the 126 million dollars invested in the lumber industry, 61 per cent. was Canadian, 11 per cent. British and 27 per cent. United States. Of 135 millions in the pulp and paper industry, 68 per cent. was Canadian, 4 per cent. British and 24 per cent. United States. In the foundries, out of 48 millions, 70 per cent. was Canadian, 8 per cent. British and 21 per cent. United States. In agricultural implement

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manufacturing, out of an investment of 39 millions, 58 per cent. was Canadian, 10 per cent. British and 31 per cent. United States. In the manufacturing of electrical appliances the distribution of capital was 36 per cent. Canadian, 12 per cent. British and 49 per cent. United States; and in building operations, 57 per cent. was Canadian, 0.2 per cent. British and 41 per cent. United States. Although the proportion varies considerably from one industry to another, by 1919 all of the major manufacturing and mining industries of Canada were being financed by Canadian or by United States capital. The United States investments had practically equalled British investments, and the volume of United States money pouring into Canada every year far exceeded the volume of British money.

It should be noted that these figures on the nationality of Canadian capital relate only to the local titles. In many instances United States capital is invested under Canadian names and under Canadian directorates; nevertheless the real control remains in New York or Chicago.

Five war years were sufficient to check and even curtail the increase of British financial influence in Canada, to provide United States investors with an immense surplus and to enable them to make rapid inroads into this vastly important British dominion.

Trade depression followed the war, giving United States investors new opportunities to dominate the Canadian economic field. The approaching dissolution of Europe rendered Continental investments unattractive. The evident stability of industrialism in Canada provided a double incentive for United States economic expansion in that direction.

Then, too, many of the Canadian industries had been organised during the pressure of war prosperity. As soon as the war demand fell off, their sponsors found themselves in financial difficulties, and rapidly made terms with American banking interests, under which title passed across the international boundary line. The *American Economist* estimates that between 1920 and 1923 the percentage of Canadian manufacturing industry controlled in the United States increased from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. This was due in part to the failure of Canadian investors to hold their

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economic position in the face of hard times, and in part to the rapid movement of United States manufacturers to establish plants in Canadian territory.

Just how far this latter movement has gone it is rather difficult to say. It is estimated that there are between 600 and 700 branches of American industry in Canada at the present time. Some of them, such as the International Harvester, Canadian General Electric and General Motors, are very important enterprises, while others are of minor consequence. In the aggregate, however, they constituted a rapidly growing volume of American capital movement into the Dominion.

Unofficial estimates for 1923 place the total volume of British capital in Canada at 2 billion dollars, and the total volume of United States capital in Canada at 2½ billions.

Canadian trade in 1922 had swung back toward its pre-war position. Exports to Great Britain slightly exceeded exports to the United States (374 millions as compared with 310 millions). In the case of imports, however, 67 per cent. were coming from the United States while only 18 per cent. were drawn from Great Britain.

Imperial policy is having not a little influence upon the rapid absorption of Canadian economic opportunity by the United States business interests. The higher the tariff wall which the Empire erects about itself, the greater the pressure compelling United States manufacturers to set up branch houses in Canada to produce there and to ship the commodities inside the Empire under preferential tariffs.

Companies like General Motors have already taken advantage of the British preference in favour of Canadian-made automobiles. They are turning out their product in Canada, selling locally without the necessity of meeting the Canadian tariff, and exporting to Britain at an advantage over their United States competitors.

The closer the Dominion is tied to the Mother-country, the larger the opportunities for United States investors to work from inside the Dominion to the economic markets of the Empire, and the greater the probability that increasing amounts of Canadian purchases will be made on the American side of the border. At

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the present time such purchases exceed two-thirds of all the imports into Canada.

The economic title to Canada's foreign investment field has passed from British to United States bankers. The political title still remains in British hands. History shows that economic possession ultimately carries with it political control.

For the time being, Canada remains in a condition of unstable equilibrium. The roots of her economic power are driven deep into the business life of the United States. Her political fealty remains with Great Britain. Whenever the test of strength comes, however, the economic will undoubtedly outweigh the political.

There is a remote chance that Britain may win back her economic supremacy. This is so faint, however, as to be scarcely dignified by the term "possibility." With the lines of economic advantage which bind Canada and the United States together; with the very large sums of investable surplus which lie ready on hand in the United States, and with the pressure of British imperial policy forcing American industries to locate in Canada in order to obtain the advantages derived from imperial preferences, there seems to be an overwhelming probability that the relative position of the two empires will remain what it is, that the British financial position in Canada will grow proportionately less and that the position of the United States will become rapidly more dominating.

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SOME FACTS ABOUT THE BOMBAY STRIKE

By EVELYN ROY

ONE hundred and fifty thousand mill operatives, including thirty thousand women and children, have been on strike and locked-out of the textile mills of Bombay for nearly three months. All the mills of the district, eighty-three in number, are closed down. The question at issue is the payment of the annual bonus to the operatives, in addition to their usual wage. In July of last year, the owners put up a notice that the usual bonus, received by the operatives during the last five years and regarded by them as a form of supplementary wages, would not be paid. The men did not heed the notice, most of them being illiterate, and it was not until the end of the year when the bonus became payable that they realised the issue at stake. A strike was declared in the middle of January, followed immediately by a lockout on the part of the owners, in an attempt to force the men back to work unconditionally.

The monthly wage of a Bombay mill operative is 35 rupees for men; 17 rupees for women—for a ten-hour day. This sum is insufficient to maintain their bodily health and strength, or to provide them with the most elementary necessities. For this reason, during the height of the post-war boom period when mill profits soared to several hundred per cent., the annual bonus was granted as a form of supplementary wages. The cost of living has risen (according to official figures) 58 per cent. since 1914; profits have risen from 674 lakhs of rupees in 1917 to 1,559 lakhs in 1921, with a slight falling-off in 1922-23. The cotton mill workers are proverbially underpaid and overworked, with the result that they are always heavily in debt to the money-lender. Their right to organise into trade unions is not legally recognised; they have no regular labour organisations and no union fund. Their leaders, up to the time of the present strike, were drawn from the ranks of the bourgeoisie—lawyers, politicians, philanthropists and professional labour leaders, who were closer in interests and sympathies

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to the employing class than to the workers. They sabotaged every attempt to strike on the part of the latter; they took the part of the employers in every decisive issue; they used their influence to keep the men at work and satisfied with the old conditions instead of attempting to better themselves. The Government, which affects to maintain its neutrality in labour disputes, has never hesitated to call out armed police and military to aid the employers in guarding their property and crushing a strike.

Thus every institution and condition was against the success of the present strike, as it has been of previous ones. Yet the textile workers of Bombay have maintained their struggle for three months in face of all odds; they have remained peaceful and non-violent in the teeth of the most open provocation ; they have repudiated their old leaders and elected new ones from their own ranks to present their demands before the Government and the employers; they have endured with marvellous fortitude the sufferings of hunger and privation throughout the whole of the strike period. They have never wavered in their demand for the payment of bonus as a pre-requisite for returning to work; they have maintained their solidarity of front against the efforts of the employers to seduce a part of them back to work, and against the sabotage of the Government and the public, which has refrained from giving them any concrete help during the long and bitter dispute.

The textile workers of Bombay are dying in the streets from starvation. Their January wages, already earned before the declaration of the strike and lockout, have been illegally withheld by the owners. The grain dealers and provision shops have long ago refused them credit. They are unable to pay their rent for the miserable rooms in which they huddle by tens and dozens in the infamous Bombay Chawls (tenements). The workers have never possessed any material resources to carry them from one day to the next, nor any central fund to maintain them in time of strike. They are sticking to their demands in the face of slow starvation. Appeals to the public for material help and to the Government have met with no response. *The charitable associations of Bombay are all controlled by the Mill Owners' Association, and have refused to give aid to the strikers.* The Legislative Councils, both national and provincial, have made no move to come to the assistance of the

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sufferers. The Indian National Congress, which in each of its annual sessions since 1916 has pledged its support to the cause of Indian labour, refused to sanction the granting of a sum for supplying grain or credits to the starving strikers. The All-India Trade Union Congress, which presumes to lead the struggle of the Indian workers against the employing class, has never so much as mentioned the Bombay strike, nor sent one of its office-holders to the scene of the struggle to investigate and guide it, nor issued a single appeal on behalf of the starving strikers. The Fourth Annual Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, which was scheduled to be held on March 7, the very day on which the workers of Bombay were being shot down by the guns of the police and military, *deferred its session indefinitely because of internal quarrels and factional disputes among its office-bearers.* When it finally met on March 14, it broke up in a rain of abuse and a free-for-all fist fight, without so much as giving one thought to the cause of the 150,000 striking mill hands of Bombay, or of identifying the All-India Trade Union Congress with the greatest industrial struggle that has ever been waged in India.

The British Labour Government and Labour Party, which rule the destinies of the Indian people to-day, has limited its interest in the fate of the starving Bombay workers on strike for a living wage to a statement in the House of Commons that the matter " has been left to the Government of India." While in Britain the Dockers' strike, the tram and bus strike, and other threatened strikes have been subjected to the immediate and closest scrutiny of the Government, which spares no efforts to bring them to a speedy and satisfactory solution, in India an industrial dispute affecting the welfare and very lives of 150,000 workers, to which must be added the count of their families and dependents, and reaching out in its consequences to the very shores of England in its effect on the Lancashire textile industry, has been allowed to proceed for *three months* without a motion to interfere on the part of the Labour Government or a gesture of sympathy or solidarity on the part of the Labour Party.

The British Labour Government and the British Labour Party have permitted the striking and locked-out mill hands of Bombay to die in the streets from starvation, to be shot down by the rifles of armed

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police and military, without using their supreme power as head of the British Empire to bring this strike to an end and to secure victory to the just demands of the Bombay workers.

What are the facts of this strike? In what way is it proceeding, and what will be the result of a defeat of the workers, both in India and in Great Britain?

The present struggle is more than a mere demand for payment of bonus on the part of the workers. It is an offensive on the part of Indian capitalism (which includes both Europeans and natives) against the Indian working class to reduce still further its already pitiably low standard of living. It was intended to follow up the refusal of the bonus with a cut in wages. The comparative lull in the textile industry was seized upon by the owners as a favourable moment to cut into the wage-bill, which had been slightly raised during the boom period in response to the rise in the cost of living and the consequent strike wave that visited Bombay in 1919. Such an offensive had already taken place in Ahmedabad, where the workers were forced to accede. The Bombay mill owners were prepared to close down for a short time to force the men to submit to the new conditions. The strike of the operatives in January was promptly replied to by the declaration of a two-weeks' lockout. It was held that this period would suffice to bring the men to their knees. In spite of the opposition of their so-called leaders, who tried by every means to persuade them to resume work unconditionally, having failed in all their efforts to prevent the strike, the workers instinctively realised that more than the bonus was at stake—if they yielded, the next attack would be directed against their wages. Therefore they held firm, and the lockout had to be extended for two further successive periods of two weeks. At the close of each one, unsuccessful attempts were made by the owners to reopen the mills with blackleg labour. Signs were posted, saying that if the men would resume work the owners guaranteed not to reduce wages, but nothing was said about the bonus. The men held out, and at the end of six weeks the owners began to feel the effects of the complete stoppage, and division arose in their own ranks. At a meeting of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, a strong Indian minority were for granting the demand for bonus, but a slight majority against it carried the day. *In the battle between*

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Lancashire and Bombay, in which Lancashire textile products are protected at the expense of native industry, it is the Indian workers who must pay the difference in a lower wage bill to permit the Indian textile industry to thrive.

At the end of six weeks, in response to the urgent demands of the workers and the pressure of public opinion, the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, who had refrained from taking any action calculated to bring the dispute to a close, appointed an Inquiry Committee with power to investigate "the customary, legal or equitable claim of the men to payment of bonus." This Committee had neither power to recommend nor to arbitrate; despite the request of the workers, no representative of labour was included among its members, appointed from the prominent capitalists and Government henchmen of Bombay. It was a move to gain time, by appearing to do something, and to drag out the negotiations until the workers would be forced to surrender. This Committee held three sittings, extended over a period of two weeks. Appointed on February 29, it published its findings on March 12, five days after the events of March 7, when protest meetings of the strikers were fired upon by the police, resulting in five killed, four wounded and thirteen arrests. The decision of the Committee caused no surprise, given its nature and composition; it declared that: "The mill workers have not established any enforceable claim, customary, legal or equitable, to the payment annually of a bonus," ... and that "the results of the working of the mill industry as a whole for the year 1923 are such as to justify the contention of the mill owners that the profits do not admit of the payment of a bonus." Would that the mill workers of Bombay could say to their Christian rulers: "I asked for bread, and ye gave me a stone."

On March 7, just before these findings became public, a notice was posted on all the mill premises to the effect that: "To all workers willing to resume work unconditionally, the mills will be opened for resumption of work on March 8, and two days later the January wages will be paid." The notice was signed by S. D. Saklatvala, Chairman of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association. The result was the tragic and, till present writing, unexplained events of March 7, when in reply to some stone-throwing on the part of assembled groups of strikers gathered together to discuss the notice,

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police fire was opened without warning on the unarmed crowd, killing five and wounding four. Thirteen workers who attempted to loot a grain shop were arrested.

This brutal massacre, which would have been unthinkable in Britain, and which roused a storm of indignation in the Indian public mind, was brushed aside by the Bombay Government with the single statement in the Bombay Legislative Council on March 8 that "the Government desire to offer their sympathy to the victims, particularly in view of the very creditable behaviour of the men hitherto. . . . Military patrols have been called out, but it is hoped that it will not be necessary to use them unless absolutely essential to preserve law and order." Asked by a member if there was any loss to property as a result of the acts of the strikers, the Home Member replied: "I understand there has been some window breaking and some looting in the mills. But so far *I have no information of any serious injury to any of the mills.*"

Human life may be held cheap in a country inhabited by 320,000,000 souls, but in the interests of what assumes itself to be "civilised government" it might have been expected that an official inquiry would be undertaken into the reasons for an order to shoot, on the sole authority of a deputy police inspector (European), in the absence of a magistrate, and before the crowd had been warned to disperse or blank shots had been previously fired into the air. Can mere stone-throwing on the part of justly-aggrieved men in the face of the most intense provocation be held to justify the calling out of armed police and soldiery and the shooting into an unarmed and defenceless mob? Are industrial Amritsars to be repeated all over India with impunity under the aegis of a Labour Government?

The events of March 7 precipitated long-delayed action on the part of the Bombay Government, and the Mill Owners' Association was informed by His Excellency that: "January wages should be paid at once without affecting the question of bonus and irrespective of resumption of work by the men, and that the mill owners should meet the representatives of the men to discuss the questions at issue." It should be remembered that this tardy step to effect negotiations was made two months after the beginning of the dispute which had plunged 150,000 workers, together with their wives

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and families, into the direst distress and the whole industrial life of Bombay into an abnormal state. Would a similar strike of such dimensions have been allowed to drag out its course in Lancashire without some action being taken by the Labour Government?

Yet still another month has been allowed to pass without any decisive action being taken to bring the dispute to a close. The latest reports bring news that the striking operatives, exhausted and starving, have appealed to the Government for help to assist 50,000 of them, with their wives and children, to be repatriated to their villages, where they hope to find some kind of work. Fifty thousand have already found their own way back to the country districts—the remaining ones, three times fifty thousand at the least if we count those dependent upon them, remain in Bombay to fight it out to the end, performing causal labour, subsisting on precarious charity, or dying outright in the streets of Bombay. The Government has been asked to provide them with some form of work to enable them to survive the struggle. A few of the smaller mills are reported to have opened, to which a few thousand men had straggled back to work. But the overwhelming majority remain firm to their voluntary pledge to abstain from rejoining the mills until their original demands have been met. Nor theirs is the cry of the British proletariat, "Work or maintenance." To claim such a boon as their right is beyond their humble dreams. They know only how to do that which is within reach of their own human endurance—to resist the capitalist offensive dumbly, peaceably, uncomplainingly, but with what worlds of determined fortitude, until either their cause is won or they themselves are no more. There is something truly Indian in this infinite capacity for suffering; in this strength of the meek to resist injustice even unto death. What scorn of human life it expresses—or of human existence reduced to a status lower than the beasts!

The British Labour Party, in power to-day as the British Labour Government, has it within its means to save the Bombay workers from death by starvation and from the lingering existence which exploitation renders worse than death. It can send material help to support the starving strikers, and it can demand arbitration of the dispute in a manner fair and just to the cause of the Indian working class.

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Upon the outcome of this strike hangs the fate, for the next few years, of the Indian textile workers in their heroic struggle for a living wage. *And upon the payment of a living wage to the Indian textile workers depends the future well-being of the textile workers of Great Britain, whom the Indian workers are being forced, against their will, to undercut.* The Bombay strike is but another instance of the fact that the international proletariat must hang together or they will hang separately.

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THE MELBOURNE POLICE STRIKE

By CURTIS ATKINSON

THE Melbourne Police Strike of October to November, 1923, destroyed the myth that Victoria was the best governed State in Australia. This myth owes its rise to the fact that Victoria, so far, has never had a Labour government, such governments being anathema to the people who use the "best governed" phrase.

Like the gas and tramway strikes preceding it was a strike against conditions not against actual wages, though these, for the police, were less than in New South Wales. The police service had for many years been undermanned and underpaid,[1] a foolish treatment of the operating limb of the Law. This being so it needed but a spark to set aflame the smouldering discontent. A system of espionage by supervisors (pimps or "spooks" as the police called them) in plain clothes furnished this, and the police, following a demand for their withdrawal, startled the Chief Commissioner, the Cabinet and the public by a lightning strike.[2]

The Commissioner and the Premier, the latter a would-be Mussolini with knees of clay, prated about duty, a challenge to the community and the usual forcible-feeble foolishness of a fight to a finish with the "mutineers." Before the fight got very far, the mob took a hand and incidentally wrecked any chances the police might have had of gaining public sympathy and winning.

There is a healthy prejudice in Australia against men who blackleg in industrial disputes and the crowd did not discriminate in this case. The "loyal" police on duty in the City were heckled,

[1] After his twentieth year in the force a policeman was entitled to a weekly salary of £5 19s. In Victoria the cost of food and groceries was 70.3 per cent. above the 1914 average. This is the highest in the Commonwealth. The others are, N.S.W. 63.5%; Tasmania 60.9%; Queensland 69.8%; South Australia 48%; Western Australia 31.8%

[2] In a speech in Parliament, the Premier (Mr. Lawson) naively complained that "the Government takes exception to the fact that not the slightest notice was given of the threatened action. . . . It seems that the men chose the most awkward time, on the eve of Cup Week, to throw the service into a state of disorder."

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their numbers were insufficient to control the crowds, someone was pushed through a shop window, the irresponsibility peculiar to mobs came uppermost and soon a whole block of shops had their windows smashed and looted.[3] For several hours on two successive nights rioting took place. The Commonwealth was appealed to and troops of Light Horse were sent to patrol the streets.

A Citizens' Committee delegated a retired general[4] to take charge, volunteers were called for a Special Constabulary and soon squads of these Blue and Tans were to be seen marching and driving all over the City. The crowd would hoot them and in return they would charge, using the baton so freely that the hospital casualty wards were kept busy. Many of the striking police aided in dispersing the crowds on the two days of crisis. For six days a curfew was virtually in operation. The public were notified that trains and trams would cease at 7 p.m., and a hint given that persons in the streets after that time without legitimate business would be suspect.

It was an unexampled opportunity for the Press and it must be said that it made the most of it.[5] The papers behaved as the guardians of property in a panic might be expected to behave, that is, property rights first, justice anywhere after. All the dailies had leading articles on the strike *ad nauseum*. Journals which never displayed any news, no matter how important or vital to the peace of the world it might be, over larger than single column type, featured it like a big war or an earthquake. Of course, to them it was both, a manifestation of the class war and a quaking of the foundations of their world. To the initiated, capitalist psychology can be gauged by its " featuring " of " news."

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[3] Some of the signs on the shop windows were taken literally. One sign read : " Genuine clearing," another " Why Go Shabby ? "—and they didn't. Some even tried on new hats and boots in the windows they looted ; these included women, who tried on furs and walked off with them.

[4] General Sir John Monash, whose reputation in Australia is in the same relation as Kitchener's was in England, was voted by general consent as leader of the forces of law and order. Later he resigned in favour of General Sir J. W. McCay, a noted disciplinarian.

[5] Speaking some days afterwards in Sydney, Sir John said, " It was like a big holiday crowd, which, when it found itself unrestrained by the hand of the Law, began to enjoy itself. Of course there was a section of the vicious element there, but things were not half so bad as some newspapers tried to paint them. It was not a well-planned and organised outbreak, but a great spontaneous outburst." He estimated the damage at £10,000 ; the newspapers had previously assessed it at £50,000.

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On the whole, though, the Press behaved better than the politicians, who grew more self-righteous as every day went by and more determined to wade through oceans of blood to save their dignity. The Labour Party in Parliament were out-voted and the Public Safety Bill enacted, a piece of panic legislation if ever there was one. As for the Press, once the crisis was over it obviously enjoyed its holiday as children enjoy playing with fire. There is no doubt the rioting lost the police strikers the battle though others will reap where they have sown.[6] Nearly 1,000 ex-police will have to be absorbed into other avenues of employment ; already many of them are working on the trams.

Some of the strike's after-effects were amusing. The psychological contribution of the middle class was made on the day following the riots when droves of them rushed in their motor-cars to see the damage they had shuddered over at the week-end. It was as though a conscientious objector had accepted a joy-ride to the battle-front. There were those who asserted that the affair was not a quarrel between Capital and Labour, and who echoed the papers in calling it a mutiny and a stab at society. These people endeavoured to square their professed democratic principles with the fear and panic they secretly shared with the mob of middle-class voters.

Others revealed themselves in their naked hatred of all democratic or pseudo-democratic forms, and openly advocated the blowing up of the Trades Hall[7] as being the place where the trouble originated. At ordinary times such people hide their real opinions. A public subscription was opened in the *Argus* newspaper for the police who remained loyal throughout the State, and this finally reached a total of £7,400. This divided into £6 5s. a man. The "specials" or amateur police were paid 15s. a day, the "loyal" professionals only receiving 12s. a day.

At the time it was alleged that many of the men signing on as special constables had previous convictions against them—Satan casting out Satan. A feature of the police court scenes was the

[6] Both the Premier and the Police Commissioner definitely stated, once the crisis was passed, that the force would be "made more attractive."

[7] The Disputes Committee of the Trades Hall offered its services as mediators. Their intervention has been, and is likely to remain, ineffective.

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large number of respectable youths who helped to make Melbourne a pandemonium. The average sentence was three months' imprisonment. The occurrence was probably no worse than would obtain anywhere under similar conditions though the use of the beer-bottle as weapon of offence—a judge described it as the national weapon—seems peculiar to the Autralian street-fighter. One ironic happening nearly convulsed observers with mirth and the authorities with terror. The specials objected to the attempted militarisation of the new force and threatened to strike themselves unless objectionable features were withdrawn. This was hastily accomplished.

The hands of officialdom will be full for some time over the creation of a new force, which carries in it the seeds of future trouble as many of the "loyalists" sympathised with their late comrades and would have joined them were it not for the risk of losing a pension to which long service had entitled them. Besides this, they detest the ways and temper of the Blue and Tans. And in spite of the notoriously short memories of the electors, the Lawson Ministry is likely to have the loss by damage and the dislocation of trade during Cup Week, as well as Victoria's loss of prestige, all laid to its charge. Already it has jettisoned the Treasurer (Sir Wm. McPherson) whose annual surpluses and niggardly policy are now blamed for the trouble.[8]

For the workers, one of the lessons of the strike is Labour's need for a publicity bureau. The Strike Committee did its best, but its efforts were swamped by the vast resources of the enemy.

[8] "Is the function of Government to achieve petty triumphs of autocracy and false economy, or is it to make a happy, contented, and prosperous people? On one side of the record of the Lawson Ministry we have Sir William McPherson's surpluses, on the other side we have a police force goaded to disruption, a railway service suspicious and 'nervy,' warders and asylum attendants deeply discontented, and right through the lower grades of the public service a feeling of wrong and injustice."—*Melbourne Herald*, November 14, 1923.

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IRELAND TO-DAY

By R. M. FOX

IN Europe, movements of thought and action sweep across the continent, and we can see Fascism and Communism grappling with one another in their great conflict. But in Ireland there are no such clear lines. Ireland broods over its troubles in a preoccupied way, and much of what is said and done here is meaningless to the outside world. Insularity is the keynote of the Irish problem, and the average Irishman speaks of the great European war vaguely as the "far war." The Irish movement is quite indigenous, being firmly rooted in national tradition.

Seven hundred years of foreign domination have fostered national feeling, and, as in the case of the Balkan States, Poland and other small nationalities that have suffered from arrested development, intense nationalism crowds out social and economic ideas. Other countries passed through this phase of nationalism—as a child has measles—during the period when feudal Europe consolidated into nation States, and when France contributed the idea of a national will expressed through a national assembly. Any analysis of the Irish situation will be false unless it recognises the fierceness of this national feeling, which has been dammed up so long.

Underlying the national sentiment is the question of the land. Up till recently Ireland was a land of evictions. The absentee landlords gave no security of tenure, they rack-rented and evicted until Land Leagues, agitations and boycotts forced them to mend their ways. The tale of how the Irish were hunted from the land is written in blood, starvation, and emigration, and this forms the seed bed for opinion in Ireland to-day. The crop of evictions after the famine and the substitution of cattle for men on the land has kept alive the land agitation among the people. Liberal and Conservative parties in the years preceding the war attempted to sap this agitation by passing acts granting facilities for small holdings. But cattle have taken the place of tenants all over the country, and huge walled estates like fortresses are the rule. The alien ascendancy gang cut down beautiful forests and regard the people as vermin.

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Land is almost as necessary as bread in an agricultural country like Ireland, and the desire for land and security of tenure explains much of the bitterness and tenacity of the Irish movement. The Unpurchased Tenants' League is carrying on a vigorous agitation for those whose landlords grab the benefit of any improvements they make. The land movement is a dynamic force in Ireland.

As Ireland is a country of peasants and farmers, it is decidedly out of harmony with the industrial civilisation of England. The small scattered farms have developed an outlook more local even than national; they look with suspicion upon strangers—runners, they call them—and strange ways. They have no use for a connection with an Overseas Empire, with all its problems of industry, commerce and trade. They want the land and to be left alone.

The tradition of the ancient Gaelic civilisation counts for something, but not so much as some people believe. It is true that Ireland escaped feudalism, and that clan law had far more of a communal spirit than feudal law ; and it is also true that, broadly speaking, capitalism was an English importation. Connolly laid great stress on this, and tried to make the national agitation one for Gaelic Communism as well. The growth of co-operative creameries and the more recent taking over of land and buildings by groups of workers may have been reinforced by this idea, but these things were mainly directed by practical considerations.

We have now to consider the activities of special groups under these influences.

First we will take the business men who have a separate party in the Dail. They are, in the main, pro-English, though they do not want interference with Irish trade (such as the prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle to England on the score of foot-and-mouth disease, which occurred not long ago). In the days before the Free State, the middlemen, small business men and capitalists were nationalists, and supported the parliamentary party led by Redmond at Westminster. W. M. Murphy, who headed the Dublin employers in the 1913 lockout, was typical of these. To-day they support the Government and urge economy, freedom from taxation, facilities for trade and all the usual business cries. Their

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attitude was stated very well by a Mr. Shanks, speaking recently as President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. He found fault with the green flags, green pillar boxes and green telegraph forms which had been introduced, saying that he had been informed that blue was the true heraldic colour of Ireland. Anyhow, he saw no profit in the change. But, and here he came to the crux, he had been assured that these things were necessary to make the people loyal to the Free State. The business people were terrified during the civil war, when private property was treated without reverence and the business of the country interfered with. They are afraid of the people getting out of hand again, so they slavishly support the Government in its most ferocious exhibitions of "strength" such as the long imprisonment of 15,000 untried prisoners. Most of these prisoners have now been released, as they had become more of a disturbing factor in prison than outside.

The Government is composed of opportunists, "men of transition," who are patriotic Empirists in England and who become Nationalists according to the shade of their audiences in Ireland. They floated into power when the country was sick of war, and now they depend upon England and upon finance for support. Their policy is to keep things as they were before the Treaty, while parading all the forms of change. At the last election their position did not improve; they secured the return of sixty-three candidates as against forty-four definitely anti-Treaty deputies. Because of the strong opposition in Ireland they are forced into greater dependence upon England and their Republicanism has evaporated. They rely partly upon the anti-national elements in the south of Ireland, and they dare not insist on an Ulster Boundary Commission for fear of losing this support.

Opinion among the farmers is very mixed, and among their fourteen representatives are sympathisers with both sides. Ireland has not a large population, and personal factors operate strongly. Many farmers' sons are Free State officers, while others, who belonged to the old I.R.A., are Republicans. A vendetta has been raging between the two groups. But apart from personal cross-currents, the farmers do not want any association with industrial England.

Labour must be divided into two sections, official and unofficial.

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The official section of fifteen deputies, led by Johnson, is very constitutional and regards Republicanism as one of the follies of its youth. This section has supplied some statesmanlike senators. It is nominally independent, but actually Free State.

The unofficial section, represented by Larkin, responds vaguely to the Connelly Gaelic tradition and tends to support any anti-Government movement. It has no voice in the Dail and little power as an organised force. It has carried out sporadic strikes for the prisoners, the biggest being a one-day strike in Dublin. Between this section and the vested interests grouped round the Government one sees the lines of the future struggle. Labour is strong industrially, and fights well for wages and conditions, but is very weak politically, having no social ideas or programme, all thought along these lines being held up by the national conflict.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is the premier industrial body in Ireland. It overshadows the smaller unions, and is the basis on which the Irish Labour Party has been built. The membership figures are given as round about 100,000, and Dublin is particularly well organised, the carters and dockers standing out as militant sections. Liberty Hall is a hive of activity at night when the different sections hold their branch meetings. Larkin is well supported in Dublin, but the Union machine is controlled by the anti-Larkin official element. The whole situation within the Union remains unchanged pending the legal proceedings which each side is taking against the other. The issue, on the face of it, is whether Larkin or the old Executive have legal standing in the Union; the underlying issue is whether the revolutionary or the opportunist policy will prevail.

The smaller unions, many of whom have their centres in England, play little part. The national rates agreed to in England are often blackleg rates in Ireland, and so their members are driven to act independently or with the Transport Union to maintain their Irish standards, on which, by the way, the attack is now general.

On the Republican side there is a strong conservative element. Many are Republicans because "they have always been Republicans." They have not tried to re-adjust their minds to the new situation since the Treaty was signed. So to add to the chaos we get a union of revolutionaries and conservatives under the same banner.

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Because they are only united on the national issue, the Republicans cannot frame any social programme.[1]

To-day, in Ireland, one-third of the people have voted Republican and have no representation in the Dail. The other sections, Government, farmers and business men, have coalesced to put through anti-Labour legislation, notably to reduce the old age pensions by a shilling a week. The Labour Party stood alone against this. Troops have been used in the Waterford strike, a curfew imposed and a union organiser arrested and interned. Labourers' cottages have been burnt down there, and a fierce spirit of reaction is abroad. The electoral policy of the Government was "six years of iron rule," "the Flogging Bill" and so on. A sort of Irish Fascisti is growing up which is strong for law, order and property, and is quite lawless and disorderly in their defence. The mass of the people are exhausted by the struggle since 1916 and care for little except peace. Property elements are well in the saddle and have tacitly dropped all political differences.

[1] After some months of cautious discussion Sinn Fein (the Republicans) has adopted an "Economic Policy" manifestly designed to satisfy all sections. The result is that none have any enthusiasm for it and the Republican papers have scarcely referred to it since its adoption. The divergences in the movement make it still-born. The basic Republican attitude is best expressed by Iean McEntee, a recent Republican candidate in Dublin, who said, after criticising the Free State Government for reducing old-age pensions, &c., that he would not ask the people to vote for him on any social programme but only on national grounds.

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The World of Labour

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THE BALKANS

Socialist Conference

ON March 11-12 the Labour and Socialist International called a conference of all the Socialist Parties in the Balkans, at Bucharest. Actually, it was only attended by delegates from the Bulgarian, Roumanian and Jugo-Slavian Parties. The delegates of the International were Adler (secretary) and Tseretelli, the well-known Georgian Menshevik. The Bulgarian delegates were stigmatised, in *Zemledelsko Zname*, the organ of the Bulgarian Peasant Union (Stambulisky), as among those most responsible for the crimes of the Tsankoff Government. It will be recalled that the Bulgarian Social-Democrats joined the Tsankoff Fascist Government after the overthrow of Stambulisky in June of last year, and had since participated in that Government's brutal repression of all workers' and peasants' organisations. On February 16, 1924, they left the Government.

The Peasant Union had previously asked the Labour and Socialist International to undertake an inquiry into the part played by the Bulgarian Social-Democrats. Commenting on the decision of the International (at its Executive meeting at Luxemburg in February) *Zemledelsko Zname* wrote:—

> We hail this decision of the leaders of the tens of millions of the workers of Europe, and we are perfectly sure that the inquiry will not only relieve the International of all responsibility for the crimes of the Bulgarian Social-Democrats, but will contribute to the *rapprochement* of the Bulgarian peasant masses and the working masses of Europe.

They were, however, doomed to disappointment. The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party certainly presented a full statement to the Conference—of which, unfortunately, only a bald summary has been published. It declared that it participated in the Tsankoff Government

> in order to check the danger of civil war, and to counteract the danger of occupation by foreign Powers.
>
> It does not, however, defend all the actions of the Government. Its activity was successfully directed towards lessening the loss of life and the suffering caused in the Communist rising.

There is no indication in the published reports of the Conference that this astounding statement did other than satisfy the Conference and the delegates of the International.

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Indeed, the *Preporetz*, a Bulgarian bourgeois paper, wrote that:—

> We are satisfied with the discussions which took place at the Bucharest Conference, and with the resolution which was passed.
>
> Abundant light was thrown on the agrarian regime, as well as on the events which succeeded the Ninth of June. All the suspicions and accusations levelled against the Bulgarian Socialists . . . have been cleared away . . . The Bulgarian delegates were supported by the Roumanian delegates and the delegates of the International.

The Jugo-Slavian delegates had expressed their intention, before the Conference, of raising the question whether the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party could remain within the International after its active participation in a Government which had ruthlessly massacred workers and peasants. It is clear that the International did not share their views.

For the rest, the Conference discussed the danger of war in the Balkans, with special reference to the recent troubles in Macedonia and the tense relations existing between Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia. The principal resolution concerned this question. The resolution declared that the Social-Democrats of the victorious countries, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania, should strive to expose chauvinism in their respective countries, and that the Bulgarian Social-Democrats should aid them, "as far as their means allowed." The Jugo-Slavian Social-Democrats undertook to intercede with their Government for an amnesty for Macedonian refugees to enable them to return to their homes. Some perfunctory references to the danger of imperialist intervention in the Balkans were inserted in the resolution.

In point of fact it would appear that, in the clash between the nationalism of the Jugo-Slavian Social-Democrats and the nationalism of the Bulgarian Social-Democrats, the latter had the general support of the Conference and of the International.

The *Epoha*, a Bulgarian Social-Democratic journal, wrote:—

> The Bucharest Conference, by what we can tell from its published declarations, has finished favourably enough for our Socialists as for the whole of Bulgaria. . . . The question of the racial minorities, who have a right to be defended, was submitted to a well-deserved criticism, and the conduct of the Yugo-Slavs with regard to the Macedonian problem was severely disapproved. . . .
>
> The Socialist International has been of great value to us in calling the Balkan Conference just at this moment. It will be of not less value to us in the future by creating favourable conditions for our so sorely-tried and misrepresented Fatherland.

GERMANY

The Opposition in the Trade Unions

THE development of the Left-wing Opposition in German Trade Unionism, beginning with the Weimar Conference last year, has already been treated in these notes.

Since then the situation has developed rapidly, and the opposition has continued to make remarkable progress. A few examples may be taken from recent Trade Union elections. At Dresden the railwaymen elected only

[1] THE LABOUR MONTHLY, March, 1924, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 182-184.

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Communists as delegates to the general meeting of their Union. The furnishing trade workers of Düsseldorf elected a local executive composed entirely of Communists. No reformist list was even presented to the Essen metalworkers, and the Communist list was unanimously elected. The Neustadt (Thuringia) textile workers likewise elected the entire opposition list. The factory workers of Freital (Saxony) elected 7 opposition candidates as against 3 reformists (previously 2 opposition and 8 reformists); and at Stassfurt (Saxony) they elected an executive composed entirely of the opposition. At Hartha (Saxony) the boot and shoe workers elected 9 opposition candidates and 2 sympathisers, and 1 reformist. The local executive of the Carpenters Union in Berlin now consists exclusively of Communists. In the election for delegates to the general meeting of the Woodworkers' Union the Berlin district gave 6,309 votes for the Opposition against 5,899 votes for the reformists.

The bureaucracy of the General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) and of the various Trade Unions is conducting a relentless struggle against the Opposition: it is making free use of the weapon of exclusion, and, while vehemently accusing the Opposition of splitting the Trade Union movement —a baseless charge—it is itself pursuing that policy with the utmost vigour.

For instance, the Halle-Merseburg district committee of the A.D.G.B. was expelled by the national executive simply because it had a Communist majority. Two Union officials have been sent to the district to convene a conference to elect a new district committee. Exactly the same thing has happened in the mining district of Remscheid.

At a conference of the Transport Workers' Union on February 24-25 a resolution was passed forbidding members of the Union, under pain of expulsion, to have anything to do with the Communist Party or the Red International of Labour Unions. Union officials contravening this resolution are to be discharged immediately. Similar decisions, and many cases of expulsion, are reported from the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Bookbinders, the Woodworkers, the Textile Workers, and the Factory Workers' Unions.

As a result of these expulsions the situation in German Trade Unionism is highly critical. A dozen opposition district committees have held a conference and decided to summon an opposition congress of Trade Unions and Factory Councils—as the Weimar Conference originally decided. This congress is to be summoned this month, if possible.

Metal Workers' Congress

The sixteenth general meeting of the German Metal Workers' Union (postponed from September, 1923) took place at Cassel on February 17-23. The meeting was awaited with the greatest interest, for the Metal Workers' Union is the largest in Germany, and its decisions are naturally of great significance and exercise a strong influence on the policy of the A.D.G.B. The membership was 1,600,000 in the summer of last year, but has since declined to an estimated figure of 1,000,000.

The delegates to the meeting were elected in August, 1923, and therefore did not necessarily represent the actual tendencies of opinion among the membership at the present time. However, out of 400 delegates 140 belonged

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to the opposition, under Communist leadership, and some seventy to ninety were Left-wing Social Democrats, under the leadership of Dissmann, member of the Union Executive. It will be seen that these last were in a position, by joining forces with the Communists, to put the reformist Right wing in a minority. It had been generally expected, from the repeated declarations of the Left-wing Social Democrats, that this was what would happen. The Congress proved otherwise.

The Congress agenda comprised only three main heads :—

(1) Annual report of the Executive.
(2) International Metal Workers' Congress.
(3) Social Policy.

Dissmann delivered the report of the Executive in a speech lasting three hours and a-half. Two hours of this time he spent in a violent attack on the Communists. He gave no answer to the many questions which are foremost in the minds of German workers to-day—such as the defence of the eight-hour day, the struggle against wage reductions, dismissals, and colossal unemployment, against the general capitalist offensive and White Terror, and the means of stopping the present slump in Union membership.

The strongly critical resolutions and amendments put forward by the opposition were steadily voted down by the coalition of the reformist Right-wing and the majority of the Left-wing Social Democrats. Even a general resolution of protest against the White Terror of the Seeckt dictatorship was opposed by the Right wing.

A resolution approving the action of the Executive in expelling several dozen leading members of the Union on purely political grounds was passed. An attempt was even made to annul the credentials of the thirty-eight delegates from the Berlin district, because they were all members of the Opposition: however, this raised such a storm that it was eventually dropped.

On the question of the Metal Workers' International, both Reichel, chairman of the Union, and Ilg, the secretary of the International, spoke. They admitted that the International was powerless, and then declared that revolutionary Unions such as the Russian Metal Workers' Union and the French Unitary Metal Workers' Federation would not be admitted into the International unless they accepted the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions. They naturally attacked the Red International of Labour Unions with vehemence.

The concluding point on the agenda—Social Policy—produced nothing from the Right wing save an appeal to vote for the Social Democratic candidates at the Reichstag elections.

The old Executive was re-elected *en bloc*, including Dissmann, by 254 votes to 136.

Factory Councils Elections

The German Communist Party has put forward the slogan, "The elections to the Factory Councils are more important than the elections to the Reichstag." But the task of the Communist opposition in these elections has been by no means an easy one, as may be seen from the declaration of the A.D.G.B. that:—

> Only candidates are eligible for inclusion in the Trade Union lists who support the Amsterdam International and who carry out the decisions of the

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directing organs of the A.D.G.B. Further, the constitution of a second Trade Union list in opposition to the official list is forbidden, under pain of expulsion.

The Opposition drew up a plan of campaign as follows:—

(1) To endeavour, in factory meetings, to get the opposition candidates accepted.

(2) To accept no compromise with the followers of Amsterdam in order to establish a "mixed" list.

(3) If the majority of the Trade Unionists will not stand by our candidates, to establish a minority opposition list, including those expelled from the Unions and revolutionary workers not organised in the A.D.G.B.

(4) Our candidates must declare themselves ready to fight, even against the decisions of the Union leaders, for the eight-hour day, for real wages on a pre-war basis, against the closing-down of factories, for the re-engagement of discharged workers, for maintaining social legislation, for the creation of Industrial Unions, for the exclusion from the Trade Unions of those who oppose the class struggle.

The election results so far to hand are illuminating. At Chemnitz, out of eighty-three vacancies, the Communists won fifty-seven as against the Social-Democratic twenty-six. In the Ruhr coalfield the results (practically complete) were as follows:—

Communists (Trade Union opposition)	104,204 votes
Social-Democrats (Union official list)	57,369 votes
Christian Union	55,373 votes
"Yellow" Unions	4,468 votes
Polish Union	2,417 votes
Others	3,933 votes

The turnover of votes from the Social-Democrats to the Communists is approximately 80,000.

At an earlier stage in the voting the distribution of seats was:—

Communists	531
Social-Democrats	205
Christian Union	193

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BOOK REVIEWS

WHY ECONOMIC SCIENCE?

A Short Course of Economic Science. By A. Bogdanoff. (Communist Party of Great Britain. 3s.)

THE Allied imperialist powers at the end of the war found themselves faced with the problem of how to make Germany pay without at the same time reviving German imperialism. To provide the money, German exports must increase; but these exports would come into competition with the products of the other imperialist powers—an effective competition owing to many factors. This would mean the re-birth of German imperialism which the war was meant to destroy. This was the problem. Experts were called in. The last batch have just reported. But these experts in so far as they were not economists themselves called in economists to their aid.

The problem, however, is insoluble under capitalism; it contains a complete contradiction—the only solution being the rule by the workers: the economists, therefore, being capitalist economists, have not provided material for its solution, but material for each imperialism to use to further its own policy.

That is now the function of capitalist economists—to serve capitalism and by that service to destroy the meaning of economics. For by their service these economists have shown that they are more concerned to bolster up the capitalist system than to justify their title to being economic experts. They must, therefore, be called Capitalist or Bourgeois Economists whether they are orthodox like Marshall or heterodox like Keynes.

In so far as modern bourgeois economists become more and more patently unscientific and more and more inclined just to rail at the working class (had it not been for whom, they assert, all would have been well in the garden of capitalism—thus revealing their crawling sycophantic brains), in so far as this happens it just reflects the bankruptcy of capitalism itself.

But capitalists in the period of their final struggle for power over the feudal lords, in order that their struggle might be successful, were compelled to investigate the facts of the development of society, to generalise on those facts and to apply those generalisations to the state of society they were using all their force to bring forth from the womb of feudalism. The classical economists were their experts. It was with their help that they were able to build up the capitalist system. In so far as the economists were unable to see that this system contained within it contradictions which would finally prove its destruction, their investigations failed to be scientific.

But it was Marx who first applied the scientific methods to "the social labour relations between men." By revealing the contradictions within the capitalist system and by showing that in the womb of that system Communism was already being conceived, he was the first Economic Scientist, the first "Expert" to come to the aid of the workers in their struggle for the conception of this new state of society.

But while the capitalist system, owing to its inherently autocratic character, has developed with but few experts in its laws, the system of Communism requires that every worker must at least have some knowledge of these laws.

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The Russian Communist Party, therefore, produced this *Short Course* in order to familiarise as many workers as possible with Economic Science—the science first investigated by Marx. The *Short Course* was the textbook of the workers of Russia before the revolution; it is the textbook now of thousands of schools and study circles. It is used in order that every worker may take his part in the administration of his society.

Economic Science or the social labour relations between men involves not only an investigation of the basic structure of society at every period of its development, but also of the surface characteristics of that period—such surface characteristics as the ideology of the ruling class of the period. The Course is not a treatise on the theory of marginal value or a book on "pure economics," and therefore instinctively shunned by the worker, but a book just as Marx is, that will enable the worker to contribute towards the task of forcing a Communist Society from the womb of Capitalism.

H. P. R.

PUNISHMENT AND PERSECUTION

Political Crime. By Wilfred George Carlton Hall, B.C.L., M.A. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity. By Captain Francis McCullagh. (John Murray. 18s.)

MR. HALL'S essay is of such stuff as letters to the twopenny Press are made of: ill-collated trivialities of legal information presented so as to justify an argument, whose real motive is to be found by analysing the needs of a class and not the quaint phraseology of obsolete legislation.

The author is a barrister, disgruntled by his experiences while on service in Ireland as a Territorial officer during 1919, and further alarmed by the opinion of an ex-Home Secretary, Mr. Shortt, who said in the course of an after-dinner speech:—

> I do not believe that ever since the end of the eighteenth century in France there has ever been so much working for revolution as there is to-day.

Mr. Hall, according to the publisher's announcement on the dust-cover,

> here attempts to explain the failure of the British Government in recent times to deal effectively with the growing tendency to use violence in the pursuit of political or revolutionary aims.

The attempt is not strikingly successful because Mr. Hall with ingenuous generosity gives such full particulars of the numerous cases in which sentences of death, transportation, penal servitude or imprisonment have been inflicted, in the British Isles during the last hundred years, for treason, under martial law (applied to civilians) or for offences against the Official Secrets Acts, the Defence of the Realm Acts and the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act; and he adds that his list is by no means complete.

Indeed there is no reference made to the Emergency Powers Act, 1921, under which, the Executive having declared a State of Emergency to exist, the police are given immediate and arbitrary powers of search and arrest without warrant. Thus in the case of *R. v.* Inkpin it is notorious that the police

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had no charge ready at the time of Mr. Inkpin's arrest, but had first to take advantage of their powers to search the Communist Party's premises in order to find documents on which to frame a charge (and that failing to find what they wanted, they trumped up their main charges on the basis of certain extracts from *The Theses of the Communist International*, which, it subsequently appeared, had also been published by H.M. Stationery Office).

The E.P.A. has the further advantage that sentences of imprisonment " with or without hard labour " can be passed on summary conviction, which avoids the delay and publicity of trial on indictment as required for cases of sedition and allied offences.

A prisoner convicted of sedition must also be allowed in gaol the privileges of a " first-class misdemeanant." Mr. Hall complains that this " looks like an open and deliberate attempt to establish the principle that the punishment of political offenders shall be nominal rather than real," but in fact, even when a State of Emergency has not been proclaimed, charges for sedition are rare, simply because political " crime " can be dealt with, with less fuss and severer punishment, by means of nominally minor charges that are followed by imprisonment " with or without hard labour," or at best in the second division, but never in the first division. (Several such sentences are at the present moment being served in spite of the Labour government.)

The author of *Political Crime* is content to substantiate his case by a review of the existing law in those forms which have unhappily become obsolete since the good old times. Once upon a time, a man who assaulted the State, as, for instance, by violating the King's wife, suffered the following punishment :—

> to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution and there hanged by the neck; to be cut down while he is alive and his entrails taken out and burnt before his face; and his head cut off and body quartered and the head and quarters to be at the king's disposal.

It is interesting to note that this particular form of treason appears to have been committed only twice and in both cases it is recorded that the lady herself was held to have been an accessory (and, therefore, by the law of treason guilty as a principal).

Even now it is felony punishable by death to aid or abet in arson at any of His Majesty's victualling stores, while the mere act of imagining restraint of the person of the King is treason for which the punishment may still be, by Royal Warrant, beheading while alive (in public).

The armoury of the Common Law is full of useful weapons (*e.g.*, seven years' penal servitude for taking an unlawful oath), but their use is rather hampered by the existence of other means of protection or coercion which are either impracticable of execution or irrelevant to the present needs of the Capitalist State.

In these circumstances Mr. Hall, taking up the logical and unhypocritical point of view of pure Fascism that " the same crime calls for more severe punishment (in the sense of more *effective* punishment) if committed in the course of an attack on the established government than if committed for some merely private aim," proceeds to his conclusion :—

> . . . presecutions for treason felony, seditious conspiracy, seditious libel and the like, do very little good, and a good deal of actual harm. But it cannot be denied that popular opinion would be strongly against frequent trials and

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> executions for high treason, however completely warranted in law and fact; and it might become almost as difficult to get juries to convict in England as it has been lately in Ireland, though for a different reason. As a compromise it may be suggested: (1) That all statutes dealing directly with political offences be drastically revised, and the bulk of them repealed; (2) that the punishment for treason felony be altered to flogging; (3) that the Sovereign be empowered by statute to make flogging a condition of pardon for treason. Concurrently with these legislative changes, it might be laid down as a settled administrative policy: (1) That an alleged political motive for a crime not directly political should not be regarded as a reason for the exercise of the Royal clemency, but rather the reverse; (2) that persons believed guilty of directly political crimes should be prosecuted with as little hesitation as non-political criminals . . .

It is strange that this handy text-book of practical democracy should have emerged from such a publisher, and if some of Mr. Unwin's other publications are investigated we fear that he may be one of the first to find himself at Mr. Hall's whipping post when that gentleman's constructive proposals are carried into effect.

Except that it also is of such stuff as communications to the twopenny Press are made of, Captain Francis McCullagh's latest production is written in a very different tone to the so soberly reactionary legalities of Mr. Hall's plea for white terror. The two books will, however, be approved by exactly the same class of people. Indignation at a working-class State "persecuting" its enemies is corollary to indignation at a Capitalist State failing to persecute its enemies, or rather failing to punish them, for persecution should not be confused with punishment: persecution is coercion of the rich or the formerly rich by the poor; punishment is coercion of the poor by the rich, and if the bourgeoisie prefer to use two separate words to indicate the moral difference between one and the other, let us concede them that point, for it will serve well enough to stress their respective political meanings, which are understood as well by the governing class as by us.

McCullagh's candid confession in his preface that he is not "a trained historical writer," but "merely a working journalist compelled by the circumstances of his life . . . to write copiously for the daily press," confirms a long-standing suspicion and fortunately exempts us from reviewing *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* in the detail demanded for *Political Crime* by its author's academic and legal qualifications.

The journalist does not even pretend that Cieplak, Budkiewicz and the other criminals, whose trial he describes, were innocent of breaking the Soviet laws, and since these were the laws not of a firmly established state but of a newly established state struggling against untold foes, we can only read with wonder of the clemency of the Russian workers towards many of their prisoners —a clemency that compares so kindly with the treatment of political offences in England, of whose leniency Mr. Hall complains, as to make that leniency of occasional mitigations or part-remissions of sentence appear in its true light as a brutal severity merely modified. *Political Crime* would certainly make a highly contentious appendix to *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity*. What penalty would Mr. Hall suggest for a foreign reporter who attacks a Government, as Captain McCullagh does, because counter-revolutionaries

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could not even use the diplomatic bags safely to smuggle their communications abroad since the Bolsheviks stopped some on discovering that they were being used for espionage and other non-diplomatic purposes?

However, one feels that Captain McCullagh does his best to indicate the wickedness of a working-class state:—

> On the night after the Archbishop and his companions were paraded in a motor-lorry through the streets of Moscow, the terrible leader of the Reds gazed in horror on one, more terrible than himself, who, having passed swiftly through the triple guards and the bolted doors, had halted at his bedside and laid an icy hand on that proud and formidable brain. From that day Lenin was a living corpse.†
>
> † See footnote, p. 90.

Who said Captain Francis McCullagh was not a trained histrionic writer?

A. E. E. R.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Wage Slavery. By J. K. Heydon. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd. 5s.)

Socialism and the Mining Industry. I.L.P. Study Courses, No. 6. By Emrys Hughes. (I.L.P. Information Committee. 6d.)

Socialism and Finance. I.L.P. Study Courses, No. 7. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.P. (I.L.P. Information Committee. 6d.)

Socialism for Women. I.L.P. Study Courses, No. 8. By Minnie Pallister. (I.L.P. Information Committee. 6d.)

A Suggested Basis for the Discussion of One Union for Railway Workers. By P. R. Higginson. With a Foreword by G. D. H. Cole. (I.L.P.)

The Strike for Union. A Study of the Non-Union Question in Coal and the Problems of a Democratic Movement (*Based on the Record of the Somerset County* (*Pennsylvania*) *Coal Mines Strike*, 1922–23). By Heber Blankenhorn. (Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York. $2.25; London: Grafton & Company.)

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Russia's Counter-claims. For Socialist and Labour Speakers. By W. P. Coates. With a Preface by A. A. Purcell, M.P. (National "Hands Off Russia" Committee.)

100% (*Histoire d'un Patriote*). By Upton Sinclair. Translated from the English by Camille David and M. L. Lamouroux. (Ernest Flammarion, Paris. 7 frs.)

The Truth about my Father. By Count Leon L. Tolstoi. (John Murray. 6s.)

Die Haupstrasse. By Demjan Bjedny. Translated from the Russian by Johannes R. Becher. With a Foreword by L. Trotzky. (Verlag für Literatur und Politik, Vienna.)

The First Time in History. By Anna Louise Strong. With a Preface by L. Trotzky. (The Labour Publishing Company. Boards, 6s.)

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ERRATUM

Insert on page 261 between lines 1 and 2 of the paragraph in the *Notes of the Month* beginning "MacDonald began, it is recorded, as a Liberal, in" the words :—

> "Liberal journalistic circles just as his colleague, Mr. Henderson, began not only as a Liberal but in"

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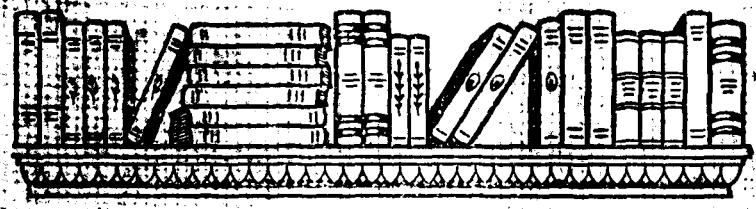

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